

this general reference to the previous note.

"The Government of the United States therefore very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of the entire German submarine programme against unarmed merchantmen, as set forth in this paragraph of his previous note:

"Manifestly submarines cannot be used against merchantmen, as the last few weeks have shown, without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity."

"On the whole, President Wilson's new note to Germany as viewed by officials here discloses that the President is still standing with 'unyielding firmness' on the same high ground that he has held since the submarine issue arose.

Not the Slightest Concession.

There is not the slightest concession to Germany on the principles of law, humanity and justice which this Government has invoked in all its utterances on the subject.

No communication could be more friendly in tone than this note to Germany, yet it is regarded by many here as the strongest, the most impressive of all the admittedly remarkable papers which have come from Mr. Wilson's hand during the war.

The President goes far in his note in giving Germany the benefit of every doubt, in preferring not to take the acts of Germany as did the note of May 15, yet it is regarded here as all the more forceful and solemn in the arraignment of Germany's submarine programme.

The note does not contain so much colorful language as did the note of May 15, yet it is regarded here as all the more forceful and solemn in the arraignment of Germany's submarine programme.

This is all that the United States has demanded in principle of Germany since her first announcement of her submarine programme, which she had hitherto declined to meet the United States on a common ground of principle, and has sought refuge in the plea that the limitations of submarines prevented her from observing these practices.

No Hint of Future Action.

Should Germany once more seek to evade the issue by an unresponsive answer to this note, or state flatly that she does not intend to conform to the principles invoked by the United States, so far as the President's own words are concerned there is no hint of what the United States will do.

It has for some time been accepted here, however, as established fact that the severance of diplomatic relations will be the answer of the United States to any evasion or a flat defiance of this note by Germany.

While the President has consented to discuss certain of Germany's contentions in regard to the Lusitania, it is in such a way that they are believed here to be disposed of effectually.

The note places them clearly in the category of a side issue. It declares that to be allegations, which, even if true, would not alter the principal fact that "a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers and carrying more than a thousand souls, who had no part in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare."

Convincing Evidence Invited.

On the basis of its own official information the United States Government has demanded that Germany's allegations respecting the Lusitania "assures the Imperial German Government that it has been misinformed" and then extends the invitation to Germany to present any convincing evidence it may have that United States officials failed in their duty.

It is not expected here that anything further will come of this invitation. Officials point out that evidence as to neglect of duty by the United States is invited, not further evidence regarding the Lusitania.

It is not denied that Germany will accept the official word of the United States Government in this regard. The German note did not make these allegations on its own responsibility but merely referred to information which had reached it.

Furthermore, the United States is prepared to accept the fact that Germany knew of these things before the Lusitania sailed. It was the duty of the Government or its agents here to bring them to the attention of the United States authorities.

Finally, such evidence as the German Embassy has submitted has been investigated and wholly discredited. It should be observed also that the note says: "Armed for offensive action" implying, of course, that small guns for defense on the Lusitania would not have altered her status in the eyes of this Government.

Other statements of facts raised by Germany are brushed aside as irrelevant.

Avenue for Discussion.

The one suggestion in the President's note which is regarded as opening a possible avenue to further discussion is his offer to transmit to Great Britain any proposal which Germany may have to make for the modification of the methods of the maritime warfare.

This offer of the President is regarded in Washington as a genuine opportunity for Germany to make at least the attempt to bring about mutual respect for international law among the belligerents.

Her other alternative, so far as fulfilling the demands of the United States is concerned, is to accept the obligation of visit and search prior to torpedo attacks and accept thereby a share of the risk of war operations.

President Wilson says in his reference to Germany's plea of danger to the attacking submarine in the case of the Palau:

BRYAN ATTACKS WILSON POLICY AS ONE OF FORCE

Peace Apostle Calls President Exponent of Old System Which Set Europe Afire—Gompers Approves of Note.

WASHINGTON, June 10.—William J. Bryan's second move in his campaign to discredit the President's policy toward Germany came today. While the President's note to Germany was being handed to the newspaper correspondents at the State Department at 6 o'clock this evening Mr. Bryan was passing out at his home a statement attacking the communication sent by Mr. Wilson on behalf of this Government.

In this statement Mr. Bryan describes the President of the United States as an exponent of the old system in dealing with disputes between Governments, the system that has war as its cornerstone. Not only in this assertion but in others Mr. Bryan clearly shows that he fears the possibility of war between Germany and the United States as the result of Mr. Wilson's note.

One thing of great interest to-night was a statement issued by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. This statement was interpreted by Washington to mean that the Federation of Labor, while doing everything possible to maintain peace, will stand firmly behind the President in his insistence that American lives shall not be unnecessarily and unwarrantably jeopardized on the high seas. Mr. Bryan has been counting on the aid of organized labor in his fight to undermine the President's policy and Mr. Gompers' statement would indicate that for the most part he is to be disappointed.

Labor Behind President.

This is the statement issued by the President of the American Federation of Labor:

Several newspapers and news agencies have asked me for my official opinion regarding the present international situation. My opinion is that, regardless of what honorable position the United States may take, the effort will be made to drag us into the international conflict, whether we like it or not.

This is a great pity that there is not more publicity regarding the official national relations and diplomatic communications, so that the people may be in a position to form their own judgment, not only on the merits of the case, but on the character of the man who is making the statement. It is a pity that this thought can only find its accomplishment when more normal conditions shall prevail.

The influence of the American Federation of Labor, the workers of the country, will be exerted for the maintenance of peace, and yet we cannot permit to be challenged the consistency that the lives of Americans shall not be unnecessarily and unwarrantably jeopardized.

President Wilson's policy as one of firmness supported by force.

Exponent of Persuasion.

Mr. Bryan, according to his own statement, asserts the new order of things, irreconcilable to the system for which President Wilson stands. Mr. Bryan calls in himself the exponent of this system of persuasion, the system of peace at any price, which contemplates "an universal brotherhood established through the uplifting power of example."

In Mr. Bryan's opinion, conforms entirely to the standard of the old system, a standard which resulted in Austria, Serbia and which has since set Europe on fire.

In many ways the Bryan statement is one of the most remarkable documents with which Washington has ever had to deal. Never before in the history of the nation has there been a case quite comparable to this one. Mr. Bryan's own friends questioned the propriety of his statement before the President's note had been laid before the country, but to say that they were dissenting, which his address to the American people would be putting it mildly.

They gave Mr. Bryan full credit for sincerity and courage, but they feel that his attack upon the foreign policy of the President at this crisis in the nation's affairs is more than deplorable and will eventually react upon Mr. Bryan himself.

Bryan's Statement Timid.

It was pointed out even by Mr. Bryan's friends that his campaign consists practically in sitting on the White House doorstep with statement in hand ready to time the handing of it to the newspapers in such a way as to be most effective in offsetting and discrediting the policy which President Wilson has solemnly undertaken.

At the White House President Wilson's friends feel that Mr. Bryan's action in issuing a statement simultaneously with the appearance of the President's note will react in the President's favor. They are convinced that a comparison of his idealistic utterances with the President's firm and practical statement in support of American rights and the cause of humanity will leave Mr. Bryan at a decided disadvantage.

In fact the comment heard most frequently is that the two statements accurately represent the difference in the qualifications of the two men to serve the United States in a high capacity.

Many in Washington thought they detected in the Bryan statement some realization on his part of the unpopularity of his position. They thought that his resignation would be a relief to the American people that they reserve judgment and his statement that he will ask for the President's resignation, which was interpreted here as meaning that Mr. Bryan is beginning to chafe under the almost universal condemnation that his action has attracted.

The White House telegrams continued to pour in by the thousand endorsing the President's stand and upholding his hands.

CAN'T RECEDE NOW, BERLIN PAPERS SAY

Must Keep Up Submarine War, No Matter What America May Demand.

BERLIN, via London, June 10.—The morning papers comment freely on the resignation of Secretary Bryan. The *Tageblatt*, while not imputing to him pro-German sympathies, assumes that his political experience "recalled from sharp action."

Germany, a Catholic organ, believes that the resignation means a change in the American policy which probably will be favorable to Germany.

The *Vorwaerts* alludes to Mr. Bryan as a Utopian peace enthusiast, and says that his resignation means that President Wilson's note will be little short of an ultimatum. "We therefore have to do here," says this paper, "with an event of the greatest importance."

The *Tageblatt* repeats that Germany cannot recede from the stand already taken, no matter what the American demands. It would be an insult to the country, says this paper, even to suggest that Germany might abandon her submarine warfare.

The *Post* reiterates that all vessels with munitions on board must be destroyed, and says that if innocent lives are thus sacrificed it will be England's fault.

BRYAN UTOPIA-MAD.

Paris *Journal* Adds Barely Was Man Less Fitted for Post.

PARIS, June 10.—Mr. Bryan forms the leading topic of the day's papers, which print everything obtainable on the subject, even giving the English press comment, which is most unusual except in the case of Anglo-French affairs. All of the articles recognize Mr. Bryan's sincerity and none suggests that his resignation was due to Germanophile tendencies. They seem to find his action natural in a man who is an ultra-pacifist and whose sole religion, as the *Temps* remarks, is peace, while President Wilson, with an immense majority of the country's population, worships also justice.

The *Temps* finds the circumstances accompanying the note and Bryan's resignation somewhat hazy, and believes that it will be impossible to understand his letter and his resignation until the full text of the note is known, especially as President Wilson and Mr. Bryan agree respecting the object in view, but differ regarding the methods to be employed.

The *Temps* concludes that President Wilson, "who does not consider whole-scale assassinations to be a subject for inquiries and arbitration," asserted himself too imperiously in the note for Mr. Bryan, who "was almost ready to reach an agreement with Berlin on the basis of the German proposition, not his letter of resignation, but the *Frankfurter Zeitung* which he had received."

"Mr. Bryan," says *Le Journal*, "is a Utopian man, a brilliant orator, but his ideas are too idealistic. He is a man who has gone away from the director of the foreign policy of a great nation in full expansion. He began his career as a journalist, and he is probably to some extent a part of each. The German papers say the *Echo* will probably have a long article on Mr. Bryan, but it should be remembered that the *Frankfurter Zeitung* said in 1907 that Bryan possesses moral greatness with a certain reserve of energy."

The *Echo de Paris* says that Mr. Bryan's resignation is a great event. It is a Utopian who has gone away from the director of the foreign policy of a great nation in full expansion. He began his career as a journalist, and he is probably to some extent a part of each. The German papers say the *Echo* will probably have a long article on Mr. Bryan, but it should be remembered that the *Frankfurter Zeitung* said in 1907 that Bryan possesses moral greatness with a certain reserve of energy."

humanity, which every Government honors itself in respecting and which is justified in resigning on behalf of those under its care and authority.

Therefore, the President for the second time calls upon the German Government to adopt the measures which will put these principles into practice. If the second time he demands of Germany that her submarines take the precaution to ascertain by visit and search "whether a suspected merchantman is in fact a belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag."

The Note and Bryan.

The President's note was carefully scrutinized to-night for a feature showing a radical difference from the preceding notes that led Bryan to refuse to sign it. No such difference was found and no reason whatever is seen for Bryan's refusal to affix his name to it after having signed the notes of February 10 and May 15.

On the day of his resignation Mr. Bryan said that his coming statement would explain why he could not sign this note after having signed the two others. Nothing was found in his statement of last night furnishing such an explanation. Consequently all Washington was looking to the note itself to disclose the reason for his action. Not even Mr. Bryan's statement of to-night is regarded as explaining why he signed the first two notes and refused to lend his name to the third.

In the note of February 10, following Germany's war zone proclamation, Mr. Bryan is credited with having warned Germany that she would be held to a "strict accountability" for the acts of her naval commanders. Germany was also warned over Mr. Bryan's signature that the United States would take such steps as were necessary to protect Americans in their rights.

The note of May 15 was even more firm and forceful, a characteristic which Mr. Bryan now deplores. Germany was subjected to demands for disavowal, reparation and guarantees as to the future and told not to expect the United States "to omit any word or any act" necessary to protect Americans in the exercise of their rights.

The note of June 9 in effect reiterates these demands.

GREEN STRIPE SCOTCH

Pure, Light,

Delicate, Old.

ANDREW USHER & CO., Edinburgh

GERMANY CLAIMS RIGHT TO SINK AMERICAN SHIPS

Berlin Government Declares in Effect That Vessels Carrying Contraband Are Not Immune Under the Treaty of 1799.

WASHINGTON, June 10.—Another treaty is threatened with reduction to a "scrap of paper" by claims made in a note received at the State Department today from Germany with regard to the sinking of the American ship *William P. Frye* by the German auxiliary cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*.

In this note Germany places a construction on the old Prussian treaty of 1825 which this Government is not at all prepared to admit and which if allowed to stand makes the treaty in question practically worthless so far as its applicability to present controversies is concerned.

The German note declares in effect that Germany has a right to destroy any American vessel carrying contraband of war on condition that she pay for such vessel.

Though the *Frye* case, with which this claim has to do directly, is not a submarine case it is generally felt here that the chief reason why Germany makes this claim is to protect her submarine programme, when as a matter of fact she has anticipated what is contained in the note sent to Germany on the submarine issue yesterday, namely the invocation of the treaty of 1825 and the obligation upon Germany not to attack American ships under any circumstances.

The United States' Position.

While the United States is asking and will accept damages in the *Frye* case, it is by no means prepared to admit that Germany has a right to go ahead and sink all American ships carrying contraband and escape censure by paying for them.

The suggestion is repudiated most emphatically, particularly in view of the fact that Germany's present method of sinking vessels exposes the lives of all on board to destruction quite as much as the vessel and cargo. That Germany has had her submarine programme in mind in all the correspondence on the *Frye* case is the view held here after the *Echo* read the latest note. Germany has admitted her liability to pay damages for the *Frye*, but because it might be used against her in the submarine issues she has refused to admit that the act was wrong on the same grounds as the United States contends.

"The German Government cannot admit that, as the American Government assumes, the destruction of the sailing vessel mentioned constitutes a violation of the treaties concluded between Prussia and the United States at an earlier date and now applicable to the relations between the German Empire and the United States or of the American rights derived therefrom."

Though admitting liability to pay under the treaty, Germany will not admit the United States' charge that this vessel was a violation of the obligations imposed on the Imperial German Government under existing treaty stipulations.

Insists on a Prize Court.

Consequently she is insisting that the case be referred to a prize court instead of, as the United States suggested, the amount of damages being agreed upon in direct negotiation between the State Department and the German Ambassador.

The treaty over which this dispute has arisen, and which now becomes of the first importance, binds Germany not to treat contraband of war in American vessels or by Americans in such a way as to induce confiscation or condemnation and a loss of property to individuals.

It is provided, however, that Germany may stop such contraband and remove contraband articles from an American ship, provided always that she pay not only for the articles taken but also for the loss of time by the vessel.

The United States has regarded this treaty as an absolute prohibition against Germany sinking, under any circumstance, an American ship carrying contraband. It was even felt that this treaty bound Germany never to torpedo an American vessel, even if visit and search disclosed the presence of contraband.

Germany argues differently. She contends that the right to stop contraband carries with it the right to destroy vessels and cargo if Germany is not able to stop them in the accepted manner.

Text of the Note.

The text of the *Frye* note is as follows:

"FOREIGN OFFICE, BERLIN, June 7, 1915.

"The undersigned has the honor to make the following reply to the note of his Excellency Mr. James W. Gerard, Ambassador of the United States of America, dated April 30, 1915:

"Foreign Office No. 3291 on the sub-

GERMANY CLAIMS RIGHT TO SINK AMERICAN SHIPS

Berlin Government Declares in Effect That Vessels Carrying Contraband Are Not Immune Under the Treaty of 1799.

WASHINGTON, June 10.—Another treaty is threatened with reduction to a "scrap of paper" by claims made in a note received at the State Department today from Germany with regard to the sinking of the American ship *William P. Frye* by the German auxiliary cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*.

In this note Germany places a construction on the old Prussian treaty of 1825 which this Government is not at all prepared to admit and which if allowed to stand makes the treaty in question practically worthless so far as its applicability to present controversies is concerned.

The German note declares in effect that Germany has a right to destroy any American vessel carrying contraband of war on condition that she pay for such vessel.

Though the *Frye* case, with which this claim has to do directly, is not a submarine case it is generally felt here that the chief reason why Germany makes this claim is to protect her submarine programme, when as a matter of fact she has anticipated what is contained in the note sent to Germany on the submarine issue yesterday, namely the invocation of the treaty of 1825 and the obligation upon Germany not to attack American ships under any circumstances.

The United States' Position.

While the United States is asking and will accept damages in the *Frye* case, it is by no means prepared to admit that Germany has a right to go ahead and sink all American ships carrying contraband and escape censure by paying for them.

The suggestion is repudiated most emphatically, particularly in view of the fact that Germany's present method of sinking vessels exposes the lives of all on board to destruction quite as much as the vessel and cargo. That Germany has had her submarine programme in mind in all the correspondence on the *Frye* case is the view held here after the *Echo* read the latest note. Germany has admitted her liability to pay damages for the *Frye*, but because it might be used against her in the submarine issues she has refused to admit that the act was wrong on the same grounds as the United States contends.

"The German Government cannot admit that, as the American Government assumes, the destruction of the sailing vessel mentioned constitutes a violation of the treaties concluded between Prussia and the United States at an earlier date and now applicable to the relations between the German Empire and the United States or of the American rights derived therefrom."

Though admitting liability to pay under the treaty, Germany will not admit the United States' charge that this vessel was a violation of the obligations imposed on the Imperial German Government under existing treaty stipulations.

Insists on a Prize Court.

Consequently she is insisting that the case be referred to a prize court instead of, as the United States suggested, the amount of damages being agreed upon in direct negotiation between the State Department and the German Ambassador.

The treaty over which this dispute has arisen, and which now becomes of the first importance, binds Germany not to treat contraband of war in American vessels or by Americans in such a way as to induce confiscation or condemnation and a loss of property to individuals.

It is provided, however, that Germany may stop such contraband and remove contraband articles from an American ship, provided always that she pay not only for the articles taken but also for the loss of time by the vessel.

The United States has regarded this treaty as an absolute prohibition against Germany sinking, under any circumstance, an American ship carrying contraband. It was even felt that this treaty bound Germany never to torpedo an American vessel, even if visit and search disclosed the presence of contraband.

Germany argues differently. She contends that the right to stop contraband carries with it the right to destroy vessels and cargo if Germany is not able to stop them in the accepted manner.

Text of the Note.

The text of the *Frye* note is as follows:

"FOREIGN OFFICE, BERLIN, June 7, 1915.

"The undersigned has the honor to make the following reply to the note of his Excellency Mr. James W. Gerard, Ambassador of the United States of America, dated April 30, 1915:

"Foreign Office No. 3291 on the sub-

SUCCESSIVE STEPS TAKEN TO PROTECT U. S. RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, June 10.—These have been the successive steps in the efforts of the United States Government to protect American lives and ships:

February 1.—The United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

May 15.—It confidently expects, therefore, that the Imperial German Government will disavow the acts of which the Government of the United States complains, that they will make reparation so far as reparation is possible for injuries which are without measure, and that they will take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so obviously subversive of the principles of warfare. . . . The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

June 9.—The Government of the United States therefore very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note transmitted on the 15th of May.

June 9.—The Government of the United States therefore deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships and asks for assurances that this will be done.

EDITORIAL OPINION ON THE LATEST NOTE

New York Newspapers Believe the Document Makes for Peace, Not War.

Editorial comment of New York newspapers on the new note to Germany, coupled with the latest Bryan statement, follows in part:

The Tribune.

Judged in connection with the events of the last few days and measured by the anticipations of a new birth of firmness and vigor at Washington, which they excited, the new note to Germany will prove a disappointment.

The country expected a still more concrete and positive assertion of our position as the champion of neutral rights. The first and strongest impression which the public will get from the note is that it does not clear up at all the mystery of Mr. Bryan's resignation.

It is not only that the paragraph of the letter Mr. Lansing apparently contracts the scope of our championship of the free use of the seas to warning Germany that "the Government of the United States deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships."

The qualification is a wise one and a proper step away from the too broad implication of the note of May 12.

The World.

President Wilson's reply to the German note could hardly have been made more moderate and restrained without surrendering the American contention in this controversy.

In the main the note is a reiteration of the principles of international law and the code of humanity which the President defined and upheld in the note of May 13.

It is apparent that the President is determined to give Germany every chance to put herself in accord with the principles of civilized warfare and to surrender the civil population to the mercy of death by starvation, who the talk of humanity was not based in Washington until Germany had found in submarines an effective weapon to penetrate this plan.

By the same right by which Germany is asked to discontinue in the name of humanity her successful submarine warfare, Germany could, in the last analysis, be asked to discontinue every offensive and to continue her defensive.

The New Yorker Herald.

Mr. Wilson's note is soft enough, but there is no blinking the fact that it wants those "assurances" which he mentions in the last sentence of the document. That is, he wants the German Government to yield to the demand that American lives and American ships must not be put in jeopardy and that the United States demands from Germany a definite promise that the rules of warfare which heretofore prevailed will be observed in the future.

The Times.

The reply to Germany's note is the appeal of a nation of the twentieth century to a nation that has reverted to the principles and practices of the thirteenth.

Functions of the Prize Court.

"As was stated in the note of April 4 last, the prize court should have to decide the questions whether the destruction of the ship and cargo was legal, whether the property was liable to confiscation and to whom and in what amount indemnity is to be paid, provided application therefor is received. Since the decision of the prize court must first be awaited before any further position is taken by the German Government, the simplest way for the American interested parties to settle their claims would be to enter them in the competent records in accordance with provisions of the German code of prize proceedings.

The undersigned begs to suggest that the Ambassador bring the above to the knowledge of his Government, and avail himself, &c.

"VON JAGOW,
"Minister for Foreign Affairs."

CHESAPEAKE & OHIO RAILWAY

THE RHINE, THE ALPS AND THE BATTLEFIELD LINE

Direct Line to America's Great Thermal Region

THROUGH PULLMAN SERVICE

SUCCESSIVE STEPS TAKEN TO PROTECT U. S. RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, June 10.—These have been the successive steps in the efforts of the United States Government to protect American lives and ships:

February 1.—The United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

May 15.—It confidently expects, therefore, that the Imperial German Government will disavow the acts of which the Government of the United States complains, that they will make reparation so far as reparation is possible for injuries which are without measure, and that they will take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so obviously subversive of the principles of warfare. . . . The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

June 9.—The Government of the United States therefore very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note transmitted on the 15th of May.

June 9.—The Government of the United States therefore deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships and asks for assurances that this will be done.

EDITORIAL OPINION ON THE LATEST NOTE

New York Newspapers Believe the Document Makes for Peace, Not War.

Editorial comment of New York newspapers on the new note to Germany, coupled with the latest Bryan statement, follows in part:

The Tribune.

Judged in connection with the events of the last few days and measured by the anticipations of a new birth of firmness and vigor at Washington, which they excited, the new note to Germany will prove a disappointment.